



Peggy Say, sister of captive AP correspondent Terry Anderson, displays photos of his daughters Sulome and Gabrielle, at meeting in Rome. On the left is AP Rome bureau chief Dennis Redmont, an OPCer.

AP Photo

New Concern For Hostages

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait created new worries for the families of Americans held hostage in Lebanon because of a complicated link between the captives and a group of prisoners in Kuwait.

"What has always frustrated the families is that anything that happens in the Middle East has a ripple effect," said Peggy Say, sister of Terry Anderson, the AP's chief Middle East correspondent. Anderson was kidnapped in Beirut on March 16, 1985, making him the longest held of the six U.S. hostages in Lebanon.

The volatile nature of politics in the Middle East is upsetting to families of the hostages because it keeps them on emotional tenterhooks, said Mrs. Say. The Iraqi invasion is just another example, she said.

Here is how the fate of 15 prisoners in Kuwait — the so-called Dawa prisoners — is connected to the Americans held hostage in Lebanon.

Experts say that Imad Mugniyeh, a Moslem Shiite accused of masterminding the kidnapping of Americans in Lebanon, is the brother-in-law of Mustafa Yousef Badreddin, one of the prisoners in Kuwait.

Badreddin and 14 others are serving life sentences for the 1983 bombings of the U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait.

Mugniyeh, who operates under cover of the Islamic Jihad, has insisted the American hostages in Lebanon will not be freed until the prisoners in Kuwait are released.

— APLog —

Seek Volunteers For Euro Projects

There are 600 new newspapers in Poland alone. And this is just one of six countries in Central and Eastern Europe. They lack trained personnel, circulation know-how, advertising is barely toddling, paper prices have skyrocketed, equipment is outmoded or lacking, many papers won't make it.

A survey of needs conducted in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia by the World Press Freedom Committee suggests a number of "do-able projects":

- Twinning of newspapers in East and West, following the "sister city" model.
- "Freedom Bus" exhibit of U.S., Western news media.
- Training courses; emphasizing operational subjects.
- Donation of PCs, laser printers, scanners, photo transmitters and other smaller items.
- Creation of a pool of consultants willing to serve as instructors.
- Support for a planned regional journalism training center in Poland.
- Furnishing journalism libraries.
- Provide news media with subscriptions to U.S., Western newspapers.

The OPC is one of the more than 20 media organizations affiliated with WPFC.

Members who desire information should contact Dana Bullen, executive Director, World Press Freedom Committee, P.O. Box 17407, Washington, DC 20041. Phone: (703) 648-1000.

NEW MEMBERS

Following have been accepted for membership in the OPC:

ACTIVE RESIDENT

Nancy K. Robinson, freelance writer and photographer working in broadcasting and documentary films as well as print media.

Kevin D. McDermott, Senior Editor for *D&B Reports*. Has also worked as a freelance in financial writing and on *Writer & Editor* and *Investment Dealers' Digest*.

ACTIVE OVERSEAS

Kitty McKinsey is Eastern European correspondent for Southam News of Canada and is currently based in Warsaw. She is a former reporter in Vienna for the *Detroit Free Press* and before Europe was a reporter for Canadian Press in Ottawa after service with *Ottawa Today* and the *Ottawa Citizen*.

ASSOCIATE RESIDENT

John P. Grimaldi, writer, publisher and proprietor of GPR International, he was a broadcaster with American Forces Network in Germany in the '60s and later a reporter with AP in New York.

Darienne L. Dennis, now manager of communications with Philip Morris International, she was formerly a reporter with *Fortune*.

Julia Perles, an attorney with Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim & Ballon, she has written for the *New York Law Journal*, the New York Bar Association's *Family Law Review*, *Fair Share*, and *New York Domestic Relations Reporter*.

By Susan Baxter

Calif./Downholders Honor Bartholomew

Former UP and UPI staffers gather Sept. 28 in Sonoma, Calif., 45 minutes north of the Golden Gate Bridge, to honor former president **Frank H. Bartholomew**. A plaque will be unveiled in memory of Bart, as he was widely known, and Agoston Haraszthy, California wine pioneer. Cocktails and lunch follow the 11:30 a.m. ceremony at the vineyard Bartholomew purchased, the site of Haraszthy's first winery. Tab is \$40.

George McCadden of Sonoma, spearheading the event, can be reached at (707) 996-9097.

Message — From Page 1

Quayle's name for president, I replied that our program committee hopes to have the Vice President as a guest sometime in coming months. We'll invite the President, too, and other world leaders, and newsmakers and newsmakers.

* * *

I spent a few days this summer examining the Maryland archives in a magnificent hall in Annapolis, and walking amidst the gravestones clustered around St. Thomas Church at Owings Mills. The search was for threads to my family's history, and a rumor that there were ancestors who owned vast tracts of land. Was a fortune lost? Alas, there's no solid evidence, and I continue to go to work each day on 42nd Street in New York.

It occurred, as I link Edward Stevenson, who obtained a land grant from the King in the early 1700s, to Richard King Stevenson, his son, and to Mordecai, his grandson, that these good folk of Colonial America were spared some things that made their other priorities less burdensome.

There was no anxious wait to determine if Dan or Tom or Ted made it to Baghdad or Saudi Arabia first. No preachments from *Tom Wicker* or *Abe Rosenthal* or *George Will*.

And, they were mercifully spared from the commentator who told us that Jordan's King Hussein was caught between an "Iraq and a hard place" in the Middle East.

The next ship to anchor in Baltimore would bring the news.

* * *

After a search lasting many months, the Board of Governors accepted the Executive Committee's recommendation to sever ties with the Chemists Club, and locate at 3 W. 51st Street.

Len Saffir, my predecessor, deserves much credit for insisting that permanent quarters were needed after two "homeless" years. Our membership has fallen below 1,000 for the first time in many years. Many of the defections are traceable to the lack of a permanent home.

Our financial house is in order; dues will not be increased for 1991; some additional services will be announced; more activity is assured, now that there's a central rallying point.

I will report to you from time to time in the Bulletin (not always on Page 1) on our progress. Please tell me when we fall short of your expectations.

Drafted by Henry Gellerman, former President, Treasurer **Norman Schorr** and Board Member **George Burns**, the Board approved a plan to eliminate several longstanding debts.

Obituaries O'Donnell Wrote on Hitler Bunker

James P. O'Donnell, 72, whose book on the last days of Adolf Hitler, "The Bunker," was a best seller in 1978, died April 15 in Boston of lung and stomach cancer. O'Donnell had been an Army Captain in Germany when World War II ended. One of his first assignments for Newsweek soon afterwards was to write about Hitler's bunker; O'Donnell gained entry to the underground hideout by bribing a Russian guard with a pack of cigarettes. Inside, he discovered extensive files on Hitler's final days as the Allies closed in.

O'Donnell worked overseas for *Newsweek*, the *New York Daily News* and the *Saturday Evening Post* before returning to Boston to teach journalism at Boston University.

Trudy Studer, 41, chief parliamentary correspondent for AP's Swiss service, died on June 29 after suffering a heart attack. In Switzerland, she was vice president of the Association of Parliamentary Correspondents.

Spencer Moosa, 85, a longtime correspondent for AP and Reuters in China and Taiwan, died in a Taiwan hospital on May 18 of a heart and lung ailment. Moosa, one of the last foreign correspondents to leave the China mainland after the 1949 communist victory, lived most of his life in China.

George H. Beebe, who helped build award-winning coverage of Latin America for the *Miami Herald*, died April 30 of cancer in a Miami hospital. Beebe, 80, was one of the founders of the World Press Freedom Committee, serving as its executive director prior to retirement. He also was a former president of the Inter American Press Association.

Election — From Page 1

Felice Levin, who chaired the committee overseeing the election, is the third associate governor on the board.

Holdover governors are Richard Stolley, editorial director Time-Warner; John Corporon, Vice president for News, WPIX-TV, New York; John Bookman, longtime reporter in New York and Washington, now a financial public relations consultant; Ray Price, president of the Economic Club of New York and Fred Ferguson, longtime UPI reporter-editor and now a freelancer.

In addition to Saffir, Dwight Sargent, CWO Bill Henderson and Charles Schreiber completed terms on the board.

Overseas Press Club Bulletin

The Overseas Press Club Bulletin (ISSN-0738-7202) is published monthly, except August, for \$24 per year to members, included in dues, by the Overseas Press Club of America, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Fred Ferguson, Jean Sprain Wilson, Susan Baxter, Ralph Gardner, Al Kaff, Meyer Lurie, Maria Ferris, Editors.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Overseas Press Club, 310 Madison Avenue, Suite 2116, New York, N.Y. 10017

Diplomat To Speak at WNRC Dinner

Career diplomat Richard W. Murphy will be the speaker Oct. 25 at a Women's National Republican Club black-tie dinner at 7:15 p.m.; tickets are \$70 each. OPC members are eligible to attend. Call Jamie Parilla at 212-582-5454.

OPC Calendar

Sept. 18, 12:30 p.m.: Board of Governors Meeting.

*Sept. 25, 5:30 p.m. — Open House at new quarters, 3 W. 51st Street. Informal, meet new officers, tour building after a stop at the pub.

*October 17, 5:30 p.m. — "Japan, the U.S.; the Middle East;" Panel discussion anchored by William J. Holstein, author of the forthcoming "The Japanese Power Game" (Charles Scribner & Sons).

*December 13, 5:30 p.m. — Annual Holiday Party.

*Reservations required; all events at 3 W. 51st Street, unless specified. Call OPC Director Mary Novick, (212) 983-4655, for further information, new programs.)

President's Message What a Summer It Has Been:

By H.L. Stevenson

With reporters in Eastern Europe, and their headquarters at the other end of the satellite links, scarcely having had time to catch their breath, Baghdad blitzkrieged Kuwait.

Suddenly there was another front to cover, not to mention tensions and open warfare from Liberia to Latin America, the anniversary of the Beijing student uprising, Cuba's deepening isolation, South Africa trying to cope with racial realities, and a lot of other nasty little confrontations, a civil war or two, trade balances and imbalances.

Not since the 1940s, with the great global conflict coming to an end and the on-set of the Cold War that was to last almost 50 years, has the foreign journalist occupied such a vital role in keeping the world informed about its ruptures.

And, as it has since the eve of World War II in 1939, this club is poised to promote professionalism in our calling, stand together for press freedom around the world and encourage the comradery for which we have been known.

The club enters the last decade of the 20th Century on a sound financial footing and with a new permanent address which has been publicized elsewhere and discussed in more detail in a special mailing to the membership.

I am grateful for the support voiced in your calls and letters. To the member who deadpanned that he wrote in Dan

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September, 1990

Vol. 45, No. 5

Overseas Press Club BULLETIN

310 Madison Ave., Suite 2116, N.Y., N.Y. 10017 (212) 983-4655

Stevenson is New President; Hails Saffir's Success in '90

H.L. Stevenson, veteran news service reporter and editor, assumed the presidency of the Overseas Press Club from Leonard Saffir on Aug. 15.

Elected to a two-year term without opposition, Stevenson praised Saffir for spearheading the move to permanent quarters at 3 W. 51st St., New York, after two "homeless" years.

"We owe Len a great debt of gratitude," Stevenson said.

Stevenson is corporate editor for Crain Communications Inc., New York, publisher of business and trade newspapers including Advertising Age, Automotive News and Electronic Media. Prior to joining Crain in 1985, he spent 31 years with UPI, including 11 as Editor in Chief.

Larry Smith, managing editor of Parade magazine, and Allan Frank, financial correspondent for ABC's "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings" were elevated to vice

presidential openings after terms on the Board of Governors.

Ralph Gardner, former reporter, author and lecturer, won a second term as vice president and will serve as first vice president, the post held by Stevenson for the past two years. Norman Schorr President of Schorr & Howard was re-elected Treasurer and author Jean Baer won a new term as Secretary.

Fran Carpenter, of Parade Magazine, led a field of 10 candidates for seven openings on the Board of Governors. It will be her second term, as it will be for Al Kaff, Cornell News Service; Midge Longley, Grammercy International; John "Rick" MacArthur, Harper's Magazine, and Ed Jackson, former UPI and Time, now editor of World Press Review. Charles Brophy, a trustee of the Geonomics Institute, becomes a Governor after a term as alternate and Roy Rowan, reporter for Time Inc. for more than 35 years, later an author and a former board member, won a new term on the board.

Alternate governors are David Shefrin, a consultant in the development of visual information technology and former reporter-editor for AP, Life and CBS, Stephen Smith, executive editor of Newsweek, and William Holstein, associate editor at Business Week for international news.

Associate Governors elected were Fred Bona, W.R. Grace & Co., and Werner Renberg, freelance writer and author of "The Bond Fund Advisor,"

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Who's doing what, when, here, there, everywhere

By AL KAFF and RALPH GARDNER

WERE YOU THERE?: OPCer **Ed Hymoff**, INS during the Korean War, is updating a long roster of Korean War correspondents that he and **Max Desfor**, won a photo Pulitzer Prize in Korea, compiled from people who attended a Korean War reunion held in Washington in 1980 and brought up to date last year. Among others, they lack a current address for UP photographer Bill "Looch" Purdom. Anyone who covered the Korean police action and who may not be listed are asked to send their names and addresses to Hymoff, P.O. Box 129, Belmont, Mass 02178, telephone (617) 484-8147, fax (508) 872-6153.

FROM NO. 1 SHIMBUN ALLEY: Peter McGill, Tokyo bureau chief for the *London Observer*, was elected president of the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan for a one-year term started on July 1. New first vice president is **Karl Schoenberger** of *The Los Angeles Times*.

BULLETINS FROM AP: The Associated Press reports these new foreign assignments: **Eduardo Gallardo**, from regional correspondent to chief of bureau in Santiago; **Marcus Eliason**, from London news editor to bureau chief in Jerusalem.

HONORS GALORE: OPCer **Wes Pedersen**, director of communications and public relations for the Washington-based Public Affairs Council, has received four awards for outstanding communications from the newsletter *Communications Concepts*. Pedersen also has been selected for inclusion in "Who's Who in Finance and Industry" and "Who's Who in Advertising." Author of several books, Pedersen was a U.S. foreign service officer in Hong Kong from 1960 to 1963.

OLD KOREAN PICTURES: For a special edition later this year, *The Chosun Ilbo*, South Korea's oldest and largest circulated daily newspaper, is looking for photographs taken in Korea from the end of World War II in 1954 to the start of the Korean War in 1950. Photos may be sent to **Wang Sanghan**, Cultural Section, Chosun Ilbo, 61-1 Taepyung-ro, 1-Ka, Chung-Ku, Seoul, South Korea.

RETURN TO TOKYO: Todd Eastham, former UPI correspondent in Tokyo, has left the Kiplinger Letters in Washington where he was an associate editor, and returned to Japan, joining the Tokyo bureau of Bloomberg Business News.

ON THE GLASNOST FRONT: Member **E.W. Williams** reports that his *Quick Frozen Foods International* will issue a Russian edition early next year. Targeted to several thousand Soviet offices related to the frozen food world, it will be printed in Russian and will carry advertising.

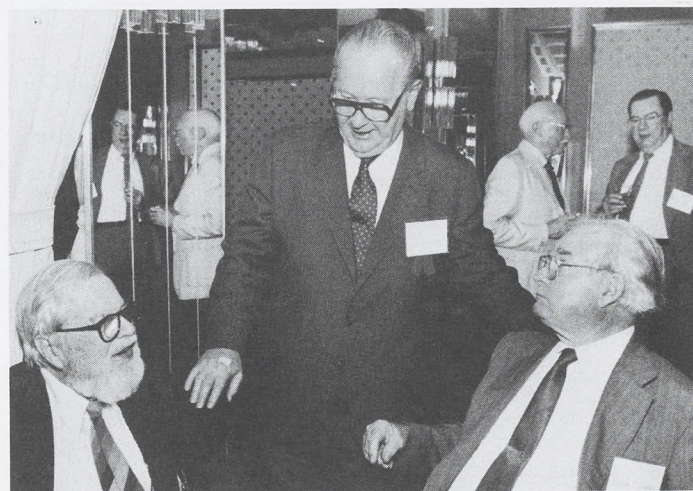
PRAVDA TOO: *Pravda*, the Communist Party daily, has announced it will begin carrying advertising, apparently in a special section. In announcing the "advertising and commercial center," the paper boasted of editions in 23 languages in 130 countries.

HONG KONG CLUB REPORT: Member Russ Tornabene, who now works as a media trainer of business executives for Executive Television Workshop Inc. after 30 years with NBC News, reports on a visit to the Hong Kong Foreign Correspondents Club where he lunched with NBC News' resident correspondent **Keith Miller**. It includes restaurant, library, big screen TV which gets satellite feeds, reading rooms "and, of course, a great bar."

VICKER ON FINANCIAL MEDIA: Member **Ray Vicker** says his new book, "The Informed Investor" tells how to profit in the markets from information in the financial media. The book will be published in September. A veteran of 32 years with The Wall Street Journal, Vickers now lives in Tucson, Arizona.

ARGENTINE INFLATION: From Buenos Aires, longtime UPI Latam correspondent **Dan Drosdoff** reports the soaring inflation of the past has stabilized somewhat. "A steak, salad, coffee and soda water at a medium priced restaurant is \$12 — still not too bad, but nothing like the \$4 it cost for that same dinner last February."

RETURN VISIT: UPI Chief Correspondent **Leon Daniel** was in Ho Chi Minh City on April 30, fifteen years to the day after he reported the fall of the City then named Saigon to the North Vietnamese. "On the same palace grounds I saw breached by Soviet-built T54 tanks April 30, 1975, I listened Monday to Vietnam's communist leaders urge establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States," he wrote. Daniels works out of Washington these days.



Almost 300 former UP and UPI staff members held a reunion in New York in April, among them (l to r) William Lander and Ex-Foreign Editor Jack Fallon, both of New York and OPCers, and George McCadden of Sonoma, Calif. Lander spent 22 years with United Press in New York, Pittsburgh, Washington and eight foreign capitals, later worked for the Journal of Commerce. At 87, he may be the oldest living Downhold Club member.

TRAVEL SUBSIDIES — Mac Seligman, longtime OPCer based in Miami, has represented numerous international hotels, airlines and resorts as a travel and transportation public relations specialist. Writing in the *Public Relations Journal* (May 1990) he discusses the ticklish situation of subsidized trips for travel writers, noting that more and more publications are restricting acceptance of these trips. Seligman concludes that those in travel p.r. must respond "intelligently to the objections to subsidized travel" and "that all we truly want is objective coverage." A copy of the article can be obtained by writing the OPC office.

BEIJING SPRING — The Associated Press has produced "*China: From the Long March to Tiananmen Square*" (Henry Holt & Co., \$19.95). The 320-page book was written by Beijing bureau chief **Jim Abrams** and former Beijing reporter **Rick Gladstone**, who is now enterprise editor, New York Business News. The large size book contains some 250 AP photographs, covering the history of China in the 20th century, and emphasizing the "Beijing spring" of 1989.

NEW FIN TIMES CHIEF: **Martin Dickson**, 41, is the new New York bureau chief for the Financial Times, London. A 13-year veteran on the daily, his previous beats have included energy and African affairs. He spent six years with Reuters, including a tour as chief correspondent in Turkey.

OPC ON TV ABROAD: Member **L. Clayton Willis** is host, correspondent and producer of "2,000 Today," a 30-minute weekly television program currently on PBS' 185 stations in Canada and soon to be shown in Europe. Willis devoted one recent program to "The New Gold Rush," helicoptering through -40 degree weather to film it in northwestern Ontario. Willis, now living in Arlington, Va., was headed this summer for China to do several segments there.

TECHNO YURT: AP Beijing Bureau Chief **Kathy Wilhelm** reports on creation of Techno-Yurt to transmit by means of a suitcase satellite transmitter which Asia Communications Manager **Neal Ulevich** placed on packing cases outside a traditional orange Mongolian yurt while they covered elections near Ulan Bator. The laptop computers, negative transmitter and telephone were hooked up inside. Tent to bureau transmission followed.

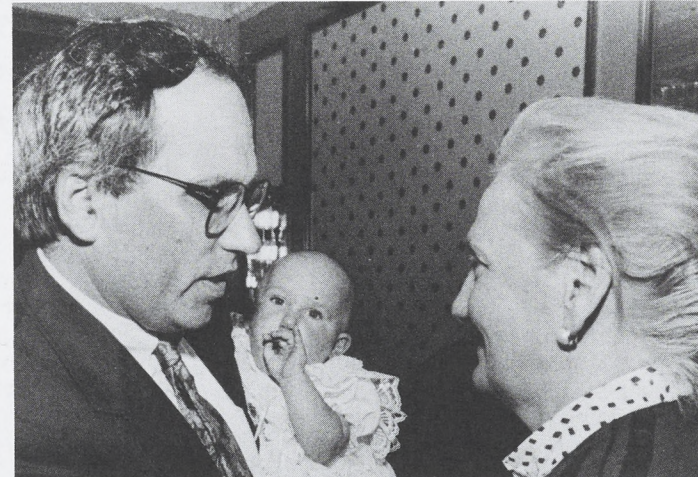
LOWENSTEIN MOVES ON: Member **Larry Lowenstein** has resigned as executive director of the Atlanta Partnership of Business & Education to work on a book while specializing as a consultant in public relations, community affairs and broadcasting.

DIAMONDS ON EAST EUROPE TRADE: Members **Walter and Dorothy Diamond** are back from Vienna, Venice and Prague where they worked to promote establishment of free trade zones and capital formation in Eastern Europe. The Diamonds, authors and editors of Overseas Press and Consultants, addressed the East-West Trade and Investment Convention in Vienna, the International Tax Planning Conference in Venice and met with Ministry of Finance officials in Prague.

WHELAN HONORED: **Jim Whelan**, long-time UPI correspondent in Latin America, later managing editor of The Miami News, editor of The Sacramento Union and Editor/Publisher of The Washington Times, recently was awarded the Bernardo O'Higgins Order of Merit in the rank of Comendador. The O'Higgins award is the highest bestowed on foreign civilians by the Republic of Chile. The award recognized his extensive writing on Chile, culminated by the recently-published *Out of the Ashes: Life, Death and Transfiguration of Democracy in Chile, 1833-1988*.



MEXICO CITY NEWS REUNION: (L-R) **Bill Williamson**, executive director of the Inter American Press Association; **Hector Davalos**, *Mexico New's* sister paper *Novidades*, and **Joe Nash**, travel editor of *The News* and founding editor of *Vista*, at 40th anniversary weekend celebration attended by several hundred former staffers among an estimated 2,500 who have passed through the English language daily.



Mathis Chasanov of the Los Angeles Times, former UPI staffer in New York and Moscow, catches up on news of former colleagues with Sirkka-Liisa Kankuri of Helsinki at the April UPI reunion in New York while new daughter contemplates the merriment. Kankuri served for 35 years as office manager for UP-UPI in Helsinki, and one of her duties was to make sure Moscow staffers got shipments of foodstuffs and other hard-to-find items.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANT: Member **Whitman Bassow**, has established a consulting firm specializing in environmental matters. Whitman Bassow & Associates will assist multinational firms in solving environmental management and communications problems. Dr. Bassow, longtime UP Moscow correspondent, author of "The Moscow Correspondents," helped organize the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 before founding and directing the World Environment Center until retiring to establish the WB&A.

MOVING NORTH: Member **Erik Nielson**, President of Nielson Communication, Ltd., has announced that his company has moved its offices to new corporate headquarters in Wilton, Conn. The firm, a foreign publishers' agent, represents top European and Asian business, financial, travel and consumer magazines and newspapers. "In addition to headquarters in Wilton," notes Nielson, "we will maintain a satellite office in New York City." They can be reached at (203) 762-9967, (212) 532-9400 or by fax: (212) 532-9400.

DOWN SOUTH: Alternate Member of OPC's Board of Governors **Frank C. Taylor**, has moved from New York, where he was executive director of the Business Press Education Foundation. He's now in Kentucky, where he is president of the Mountain Association of Community Development, a non-profit organization promoting new employment and better living conditions for the Appalachian Mountain region. His new home address is: 214 Boone St., Berea, KY, 40403.

THE ART SCENE: Member **L. Clayton Willis**, head of Willis News Service, Washington, D.C. was top auction bidder for two oil paintings by the late Haitian primitive artist, Hector Hippolite. Paying a total of \$47,300, Willis said: "I'm glad that people will know that Haiti has one of the great art schools of the 20th Century."

Overseas members: Send items to Al Kaff, Cornell University News Service, 840 Hanshaw Road, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850-1548.

Domestic members: Drop a note or clip to Ralph Gardner, OPC Bulletin, Suite 2116, 310 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017. Pictures welcomed too!

Small-Scale Radio May Be Best For Eastern Europe

By LEONARD R. SUSSMAN

Though *Time* magazine dubbed Mikhail Gorbachev the Man of the Decade, the leaders of the Revolutions of 1989 were the People, especially the young people, of Eastern Europe. They now have the burden and responsibility of constructing from the shambles they have inherited a new form of society. The news media will be an important instrument in that reconstruction. The people will be disappointed, however, if they expect prodemocracy newspapers soon to rise, full strength, from the ashes of the old, discredited Party organs. In the present circumstances, political and technological, they may want to consider — as a good alternative — small-scale, diverse radio.

The Communists in country after country were fogies, the standpatters, those over forty who couldn't be trusted. The young people — anti-Communist students, underground journalists and intellectuals — were the vanguard of crowds that filled the streets, became suddenly the wave of the future, the minds and bodies that toppled and began to transform the decrepit government structures.

This age distinction is particularly apparent in the immediate struggle to democratize the state-run television, radio and newspapers, and especially create independent news media not tied to the government. Long-familiar faces and voices repeating the government line would be replaced by independents and spokesmen for the new forces rising to prominence. They were the hope.

The severity of the problems the new generation faces in attempting to create such independent media becomes evident as one surveys the present publishing scene. There are new, young faces in TV anchor posts and among the chief editors of state-run newspapers and national news agencies. But the stolid, old-line Communists, many having suddenly chosen Social Democratic or other Communist affiliations, remain in their midlevel positions in the news media. They control the distribution of newsprint, a limitation that sharply inhibits new, independent newspapers and magazines. That continuing monopoly threatens the very existence of fragile, young newspapers striving to survive their first year.

While early sounds of triumph were heartily welcome last fall in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and even Bulgaria and Romania, as they had been earlier in Hungary and Poland, a more sober examination of the first Eastern European Spring reveals a certain concern for the immediate future of a free press in the recently liberated countries.

One must distinguish between the journalists associated with the old state-run print and broadcast media, and the younger newspeople rising from the clandestine era and surfacing now as independent journalists. The still-nationalized media, even when headed by new-wave editors, dominate the channels of communication. They have the trained technicians for printing or broadcasting, office space and vehicles, and all-important newsprint or broadcast equipment. They also have a distribution system for publications and guaranteed access to radio and television channels. The old journalists unions, mainly mouthpieces of the government, still hold the offices and equipment, though independent journalist unions are forming. The new editors placed in top positions after the liberation movements of 1989 should be able to houseclean, but they find themselves inhibited by the large number of old-line "journalists" still in the middle and lower levels of the media systems.

Changing Conditions

The truly independent journalists are handicapped. Many survived as underground polemicists. Their small publications required little financing. Distribution, though risky, was managed by networks of democracy activists. There was no market competition. Press freedom in a free country was an

exhilarating, sufficiently motivating objective. Today these conditions have changed. A free society has not yet been achieved in any country of Eastern Europe. Movements toward democracy proceed with varying speed in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria and Romania. In each, independent journalism is also developing at different paces.

The economies of all Central and Eastern European nations are in shambles. Four decades of centralized control of production and distribution of farming and industry alone would have stymied personal initiative and productivity. Further, the citizens of Eastern Europe were deprived in order to supply the imperial Soviet with products its own economy could not provide. Eastern Europe thus lacks a viable economic infrastructure. The first objective of the nascent political systems is to create one. Building political and economic systems simultaneously requires a highly committed public, one educated to the role of the free citizen in a political system of free choice.

The role of RFE

Help can also come from across the borders, from Radio Free Europe (RFE). The American shortwave operation — like the BBC and Deutsche Welle — has been a major source of information and inspiration for several generations of Eastern Europeans. Now, RFE can turn to the vital task of beaming discussions of democratization and citizen training for civil responsibility. The Voice of America is opening an affiliate station in Eastern Europe. Shortwave radio can be an important educator. To provide world news and features, Turner Broadcasting System's Cable News Network (CNN) is feeding its television products across the Soviet Union through Gosteleradio, the state-run system licensed by CNN for this purpose.

Most state-run television and radio systems remain in the hands of the old programmers and technicians despite some prodemocracy changes at the top. The first independent television program in Hungary, for example, can appear only from 5:30 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. over the state TV channel. The program is called "Good Morning Hungary" and is quite serious, unlike the American early-morning counterpart.

In each country, more emphasis is given to starting print rather than broadcast enterprises. Yet, clearly, greater diversity of viewpoints can be offered the public more quickly by radio than by newspapers. That is not to denigrate print journalism but rather to stress the need for the broad sharing of ideas in all parts of the still-liberating countryside. While there may be limited commercial radio in Eastern Europe, it is likely there will be a greater degree of public ownership though not necessarily state — or Party-run — broadcasting.

Radio, particularly FM (frequency modulation), can provide broadcasts at a fraction of the expense and technical infrastructure of newspapers and magazines. At this early stage of democratization of these countries it is essential to air diverse ideas about the economic and political future. The Party press will follow partisan, relatively narrow objectives. The state-run press, at best, may be hobbled for some time; so, too, state-run radio and television. Independent FM radio stations can be made available to independent broadcasters, journalism-student groups, and labor, commerce and farmer groups. FM transmitters run in association with new, independent newspapers could broaden their reach. This would encourage the press to carry FM listings and thereby publicize other FM broadcasters in the locality.

(Leonard R. Sussman, author of *Power, the Press & the Technology of Freedom: The Coming Age of ISDN*, (Freedom House, 1990) is senior scholar of international communications, Freedom House, New York).